HUMAN EVENTS

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Advice from Goldwater: "Quit copying the New Deal" was the message from Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), the most significant winner in the last election campaign, to the assembled members of the Republican National Committee meeting in Des Moines. The members vigorously applauded these words as well as the following from the Arizonan:

"One million 700 thousand Republicans stayed away from the polls in eleven states last year because they no longer believed that the GOP had any principles or did not know what they were if there were any.

"The elephant will come out of hibernation when he knows in what direction it will point its trunk."

And the Goldwater prescription for GOP ills: "Let the party declare against centralized government, and then act as if it means it. Remember the two party system needs two philosophies, not just one. The party has lost votes because of our failure to be a party of principle. We can win if we stand for something."

The Goldwater words came after Representative Richard Simpson of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, retorted to Ike's description of the GOP as a "hibernating elephant." Simpson called for the White House itself to quit "hibernating" and to give the same "unremitting" political action which the President demanded of the rank and file of the party.

Reactions in the Nation's Capital to this scene in Des Moines are favorable. Conservatives emphasize that it is good to have a sharp exchange like this in public: it clears the air. Goldwater's stock has risen, and it is noticeable in the halls of Congress that Republicans look for "what Barry is going to say next." (Six months ago it was: "What will Dick Nixon say next?")

Meanwhile, many Republicans think it is not enough merely to back Ike in his fight with the Democratic leadership over the Budget; the White House should, in Goldwater's words, "act as if it means it." By that, some Senators think that the President should direct his Budget officer to resurvey unexpended appropriations voted a year ago (under the impact of the recession) and freeze those appropriations not deemed absolutely essential to defense. By such a move, the expected acceleration of inflation would be halted or modified between now and the end of the fiscal year (June 30, 1959).

Labor Front: Conservatives on Capitol Hill consider Ike's labor bill a much more effective instrument for labor-union reform than that offered by Senator John Kennedy (D.-Mass.). Indeed, they deem it much tougher —surprisingly so—on the labor bosses than they had expected from an Administration which has as its Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who has deviously played footsie with the labor bosses for years. It does yield, to a degree, to labor-boss pressure, but to a much smaller degree than does Kennedy's. Conservatives—Republican and Democratic—who are wise in the realities of parliamentary strategy think it is the best possible piece of legislation on which to take a stand this year.

For these conservatives are more keenly conscious of the results of the "liberal" Democratic victory at the polls last November than are the businessmen who are now wiring and phoning them in favor of a tougher bill. If the latter—they retort—had had more generously and actively supported good conservative Senatorial candidates (like Barrett of Wyoming, Steinle of Wisconsin, and Bricker of Ohio) last year, the firing line of the conservatives in the Senate today would have been much stronger, and a tougher bill more likely of passage. As it is, in view of the election outcome, conservatives think Ike's bill a much better one than might have been expected.

The "swing man" in any Senatorial fight against labor boss domination (via the Kennedy bill), is not Goldwater, but Democratic Senator John McClellan of Arkansas. As a key member of the majority party, he stands in a good position to draw other Democratic Senators into a phalanx with the conservative Republicans to challenge labor's bid for domination. McClellan, according to some reports, wants a tougher bill than Ike's. The word on Capitol Hill to conservatives across the country: write and wire Senator McClellan.

Splits Among Democrats: Great cleavages yawn within the upper echelons of the Democratic party. Surprisingly, former President Harry S. Truman swings away from the left-wingers. The latter do not like Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, although he votes 100 per cent along the Americans for Democratic Action line. They do not trust him, say he's weak in the clinches. Truman now staunchly supports Symington for the Presidential nomination.

Noted also are some of Harry's thrusts against appeasement of Soviet Russia and its supporters in the Democratic party. Thus he satirized "diplomatic tourists" who visit Russia and other areas abroad and who might get us into more complications. Truman, it is said, thus slapped at Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.) and former Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson.

Most titillating gossip in Washington concerns a break between Truman and his former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. Privately, to close friends, the "Man from

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Missouri" expresses regret that he ever had Acheson as foreign policy adviser, blames the latter for the Truman regime's troubles in China and Korea. On one occasion, the former President reportedly indicated that perhaps General MacArthur was right in his policy for handling the Korean war.

Acheson, for his part, is said to be very chilly towards Truman. Recently, at a private dinner, he reportedly lauded Lyndon Johnson as the hope of the Democratic party. He placed Senator Symington—Truman's favorite—far down on his list of possible candidates. (The entire paraphrase of Acheson's comment on Symington, as carried by Scripps-Howard: "Not rated very high on ability . . . not the smartest of the lot.")

● In the House Democratic cloakroom, Members say that the big power among Southerners, the man who pulls Speaker Sam Rayburn away from the "liberals," is Representative William M. Colmer of Mississippi. Colmer is said to have pressured Rayburn into allowing the investiture of Little Rock Congressman Dale Alford (whom the Northern "liberals" sought to block at the opening of Congress), as well as getting "Mr. Sam" to pack the Rules Committee with conservatives. Colmer is known as an earnest supporter of realignment and a coalition of conservatives of both parties. He is No. 2 man on the key Rules Committee, next to aging Representative "Judge" Howard Smith (Va.).

Conservatives of both parties pitched in to help Colmer's bid for Democratic renomination last year; for, if he had been defeated, New Deal Democrat Ray Madden would have become the second-ranking Democrat on Rules.

● Big surprise among Senators has been the stand of "liberal" Wayne Morse of Oregon on the subject of the Cuban war criminal trials, being conducted by Fidel Castro. Senator Morse attacked the "circus" approach to justice adopted by Castro and then rebuked his Oregon colleague, Democratic Representative Charles Porter, for his attempt to whitewash Castro's actions—which Morse termed a "bloodbath." Morse said Porter was using "a dictionary with which I am not familiar" if he called the trials anything but "firing squad justice."

Johnson—What He'll Do Next: The agile Senate Democratic leader—according to advices to HUMAN EVENTS—is planning a "grand slam" in the parliamentary game. He has carefully selected one spending measure which he will seek to ram through both houses of Congress at the earliest possible moment, to test Ike's determination to veto "wild spending" legislation. If Ike fights back and vetoes the bill, then Johnson hopes to rally sufficient votes to gain passage of the bill over the veto. The scheme is a particularly daring one, because it involves getting two-thirds of the votes to erase Ike's veto. But the knowledgeable Texan has chosen a measure on which he has some reasonable hopes for success.

The bill is the Federal aid to airports measure. Over a five-year span, this proposal, if carried, would authorize the expenditure of more than a half-billion dollars. Forty Senators have given their names as cosponsors, reflecting no little country-wide hunger for such pork-barrel legislation. Numerous mayors of cities and many organizations are pushing for it. And it has an attractive publicity gimmick; some of its publicists are calling it the "jet airport" program (the idea being that now, when jet transportation is getting under way, many citizens will fall for the bill as something "modern" and essential).

Conservatives see in this legislation an excellent opportunity for the President to check the spree of "wild spending" at the outset. For the bill would push the Federal Government farther into a field which ought to be the preserve of municipalities, counties and states. It will be urged as a "recession" measure (by the AFL-CIO) to sop up unemployment. It receives the backing of special interests—airlines, *etc.*—which are supposed to be profit-making businesses and ought to be self-supporting. Observers expect that this airport boondoggling will lead to similar lobbying activities by other transportation interests. If the Federal Government builds airports, why should it not build railroad stations and bus stations? And if airports, in principle, should be built by Federal funds, why not ample "frills," such as airport restaurants, bars, parking lots, *etc.*?

Barron's financial weekly suggests that airports should be supported "not by US taxpayers, but by users and those who directly or indirectly profit" therefrom. The weekly points out that the state of Minnesota has established in the Twin Cities an "airports commission," which enjoys taxing power. And in Miami, Florida, Dade County's International Airport actually makes money.

The Rockefeller Myth: Governor Nelson Rockefeller did not attend the GOP meeting at Des Moines, but correspondents of Midwestern newspapers who covered the gathering showed great curiosity about the man whom the Modern Republicans are apparently grooming for the Presidency. Gabe Parks of the Omaha *World Herald* reported, after canvassing talk among the participants: "There seems little doubt that a well-financed New York group hopes to make 1960 a replay of 1952, with Vice President Nixon taking the role of Robert Taft and New York Governor Rockefeller stepping into Dwight Eisenhower's shoes. . . . The New Yorkers would try to picture Mr. Nixon as a 'controversial figure who can't win' . . . The strategy appears to be to keep Mr. Rockefeller a glamorous remote figure—just as Mr. Eisenhower was—until the proper moment."

Some observers returning from Des Moines report that the Rockefeller "glamor" which affected the sidewalks of New York fails to cast the same spell on the Great Plains. Nebraska GOP Chairman Richard Spelts remarked: "We're for Nixon. We don't believe in spendthrift radicalism. Rockefeller is a Democrat in Republican clothing."

And another party figure from the hinterland said: "Rockefeller is too 'liberal' for me. We're not going to win unless we present a clear Republican image to the voters, and that Nixon can do best. I'm afraid Rockefeller might be another 'me-too' candidate."

One former high party personality from the Midwest, who reflected some conservative disillusionment with Nixon, was emphatic in his opposition to Rockefeller.

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"If the GOP nominates Rockefeller in 1960, all the Midwestern states will go Democratic. Rockefeller is not a name to go down well with Midwesterners—too many associate him with his grandfather."

And *The Wall Street Journal* quotes the Republican boss of an Eastern state, who expressed concern that Nelson "might be another Eisenhower and let the Republican organization go to pot."

At Des Moines, Judson Morhouse (GOP National Committeeman from New York) reportedly was very much in evidence and active in drumming up Rockefeller sentiment, and defending the New York Governor against conservative criticism. One New York rejoinder to taunts that Nelson is a "New Deal spender": "Well, a Rockefeller certainly knows the value of a dollar." But (not the least in New York state itself) skeptics are remarking, "that remains to be seen," as the Governor tackles the difficult Empire State fiscal situation.

Lincoln Birthday: The Capital may witness an unprecedented phenomenon—the boycott of a Lincoln Birthday dinner by Republicans in the District of Columbia. The latter express great resentment at what they call the "theft" of Lincoln as a political symbol by the Democrats. What they are talking about is the scheduled "bipartisan" dinner (February 11) in honor of the Great Liberator.

Some confusion prevails this week as to what dignitaries will be on hand for this function. Ex-President Harry Truman had received an invitation, as did President Eisenhower. It is not certain whether either Vice President Nixon or former President Herbert Hoover will be in the city on the designated evening. (The dinner is being staged with the assistance of the tax-supported Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.)

More than a suspicion prevails that the whole idea of making Lincoln's Birthday "bipartisan" originated among strategists in the Democratic National Headquarters. Republicans comment tartly that the Democrats have never shown much disposition to make annual celebrations in honor of Jefferson or Jackson "bipartisan."* It is true that GOP Representative Fred Schwengel of Iowa took a leading role in the project, as head of "The Lincoln Group." But, it is pointed out, Schwengel, on the evidence of his voting record, is a Modern Republican (he rates 50-50 on the Americans for Democratic Action scoresheet).

Those who maneuver the public scene to favor Democratic aims, it is alleged, took special care that the image of the Great Liberator would no longer appear before the country (as it has for almost a century) as a GOP profile.

Financial View: "I found a sincere distrust of the future value of the American dollar in conferences with intelligent and perceptive businessmen," all around the world—such is the report of William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, after a recent trip to the Far East and Europe. Martin in the past few years has waged an unremitting battle against inflation, as head of the body which regulates the rediscount rate and thereby the flow of bank credit.

In a speech last week in Baltimore, the FRB Chairman attributed this distrust of the dollar abroad to two factors: (1) A feeling in foreign parts that American-made goods are being priced out of world markets; and (2) a fear among foreigners that deficit financing in the US, which "has developed to huge proportions in the last two years," may get out of hand.

To dispel the loss of American prestige overseas, Martin called for "good financial housekeeping" as a must, and attacked deficit financing as "the fuel on which inflation feeds."

More on Murrow: Left-wing radio commentator Edward R. Murrow came under sharp attack this week for his alleged exposé of "call girls" on the payrolls of American business firms.

The program, a melange of innuendo and anonymous voices, apparently sought to portray the American business community as a breeding-ground for vice and immorality. This is exactly the kind of portrait, note indignant conservatives, that doctrinaire "liberals" find useful in their bitter campaigns against the American commercial system.

"It is somewhat curious," observed the Chicago Tribune, "that a smear of this kind should materialize at a time when Senator Kefauver and various other New Dealers are busy trying to work up a case against big business."

In previous years, Murrow had slanted his program against the late Senator McCarthy; defended Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, a Government worker pegged as a Communist by McCarthy years before the Government admitted it (see HUMAN EVENTS for November 17, 1958); and defended Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer after he had been denied security clearance by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The National Association of Manufacturers noted: "The question arises as to the motivation for this sort of thing. If Mr. Murrow is honestly interested in carrying on a social crusade, why doesn't he tape the record of voices of some of the 125,000 people who wrote letters to the McClellan Committee describing how they were slugged, beaten, intimidated and denied the right to earn a living by some of the arrogant czars of the labor movement?"

Education Front: Many American communities need not sink untold thousands of dollars into extravaganzas disguised as schools—that's the message of "How to Have More School for Less Money," by Charles Stevenson, in the February, 1959 issue of the *Reader's Digest*. The article recounts the experiences of the citizens of New Britain, Connecticut, who found themselves confronted with a plan to build a plush multi-level, three-building school, in which the separate parts would be connected by heated passageways. Cost: over $2 million.

New Britain citizens dug up an architect with less grandiose ideas, and began construction of a sensible, but still completely modern, structure, accommodating 300 more pupils than the original plan. Savings, prorated to the cost per pupil: over $1 million.

* In the 1943 bicentennial celebration of Jefferson's birthday, the chief speaker was President Franklin Roosevelt.

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Inquiry by the *Digest* revealed that behind the move for schools resembling futuristic country clubs is the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction—a group consisting of architects and educators. Among the items which the NCSC recommends for satisfactory schools, depending on circumstances of climate, *etc.*: picnic grounds, outdoor theaters, bandshells, golf facilities, two gymnasiums, as many as three swimming pools, space for horseback riding. Says the group's publication, *Guide for Planning School Plants*: not until "optimum levels" of attractiveness and comfort are reached can "considerations of low cost properly be explored."

Playing Moscow's Game: As sometimes happens in the annals of left-wing folly concerning communism, the "liberals" have discovered—when it is too late to do anything about it—that they have been duped. For example, a recent issue of the Washington *Post*—the Capital's far-left morning paper, which lectured Hungarians who sought to protest the recent visit to this country of Anastas Mikoyan—reported that the "friendly" reception accorded Mikoyan in America has had a demoralizing effect on the forces of freedom.

In a story headlined "Our Mikoyan Smiles look Sicklier Abroad," *Post* correspondent Murrey Marder reported from London that sometimes an American abroad couldn't tell "whether his countrymen have been hard-headed and prescient, or soft-headed and myopic." The belief that this country had been taken in by Mikoyan's phony geniality, and seemed ready to relax in its policy vis-à-vis communism, apparently stirred incredulous comment in Great Britain. The London *Daily Telegraph* observed: "That businessmen from Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago should have found themselves talking the same language as the Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union carries. . . . revolutionary implications. . . . " A few intimations that the US had not been totally taken in, concluded the *Post* report, suggested to the overseas American that his countrymen "were not necessarily international rubes."

● Unfortunately, the Capital notes, signs of hard-headedness on the Communist question were few and far between—particularly in the American business community. Alfred Kohlberg, a veteran anti-Communist, last week pointed up the fact that some American businessmen seem overly anxious to fraternize with the enemies of free commerce, who aim to "expropriate" all businesses.

Kohlberg penned a letter to Howard C. Shepherd, Chairman of the Board of New York's First National City Bank, where Mikoyan had been feted by a select group of businessmen and bankers.

In the late 1940's, Kohlberg said, the Chinese Communists had made Shepherd's bank continue its branches in Tientsin and Shanghai, "but permitted no business. They made you keep the staffs, and forced you to send money from New York to foot the bill. After December 17, 1950, you had to and did get permission of the US Treasury to remit such monies because you had left your American employees there as hostages, contrary to my advice to get out. Finally, the Treasury clamped down—no more cash for the Chinese Reds. Then you begged for one last lump sum permit for ransom money to get them out."

Kohlberg concluded his letter by asking: "Is it possible you still want more business with the Reds? What do you think would be the fate of the US if businessmen like you were in control?"

● An even more flagrant example of American dupes in the toils of Red duplicity is that supplied by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), junketeering left-wing aspirant to the Presidency. Kenneth de Courcy's weekly journal on international affairs, *Intelligence Digest*, reports that, when in London, Humphrey proclaimed that he had been allowed to speak for 27 minutes, "uncensored," on a Moscow radio broadcast. The text of the speech was an enthusiastic comparison of Russians and Americans, replete with "coexistence" message.

Comments Intelligence Digest: **"These are admirable sentiments no doubt. Unfortunately none of them reached the Russian people to whom Senator Humphrey thought he was talking. But they did reach the USA, in the form of a Moscow propaganda broadcast." The Soviets had led the loquacious Senator to believe he was addressing a domestic Russian audience, when in reality his words were being beamed abroad, to soften up opinion in this country.**

TV Note: Popular Los Angeles television personality Tom Duggan, who was forced off the air following his opposition to California's new Governor, "Pat" Brown, is on his way back to station KCOP, according to a recent report in the LA *Herald & Express*. The paper reports that "pressure from Duggan's fans apparently caused the re-opening of talks between Tom and channel 13." For the story of Duggan's courageous stand in the California election, see "A Man Who Dared," in HUMAN EVENTS for December 8, 1958.

The Thaw: *Newsweek* magazine reported in its issue for January 26: "Postponed by State Department pressure during Mikoyan's visit last week: Air Force plans to hold special burial services at the Arlington National Cemetery for two of the six airmen known to have died in that C-130 crash in Soviet Armenia. . . . "

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Article Section I

THE LIBRARY
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Inflation Begins in Washington

A Crusade for 1959

By SENATOR HARRY F. BYRD
Democrat of Virginia

OUR FREE ENTERPRISE democracy is the greatest economic system the world has ever evolved. But there is one controlling requirement, and it must never be overlooked. The system is based on solvent government and sound money.

It is in this requirement that we have allowed ourselves to become weak. This basic requirement of our system is equally vital to all of us as individuals, and to every segment of our people—labor, management, agriculture, finance, professions, government. During the past session of Congress we were forced to raise the statutory limit on the national debt twice within seven months. This was unprecedented. But we are forewarned.

Some people are now contending that the recent election was a mandate for even more dangerous Federal spending activity. If more programs for nonessential spending should be adopted by this Congress, our fiscal situation will deteriorate even faster this year. From experience it is to be expected that, if such new programs are enacted, they will be long-term in nature with huge multi-year commitments for the future. It is programs of this kind that make the Federal Budget so difficult to reduce when the necessity is upon us.

Contrary to general understanding, recent great increases in Federal spending have not been for defense and foreign aid. They have been for domestic-civilian programs. Since 1954 expenditures outside of defense, atomic energy and foreign aid categories have increased from $19.1 billion a year to $32.7 billion. This is an increase of $13.6 billion, or 71 per cent.

Much of the domestic-civilian spending is for subsidies. And many of these subsidy programs are bottomless pits for Federal spending and contribute to sky-high inflation.

Interest on the Federal debt is now taking more than 11 cents out of every tax dollar, and chronic inflation has reduced the purchasing power of our money 52 per cent. The American dollar is now worth 48 cents by the 1939 index. The Federal Government is now subsidizing business, industry, private finance, agriculture, transportation, power, health, education, states, localities, individuals. By the process of cheapening our money and centralizing power in the Federal Government, we have descended to a level of state socialism which is obvious, if not admitted.

The Federal position alone is bad enough, but we must keep the whole picture in view. Total public expenditures in this country—Federal, state and local—for the current fiscal year will be approximately $145 billion. Federal, state and local governments will take approximately $130 billion out of the pockets of American taxpayers in revenue receipts from all sources. In their regular budgets, Federal, state and local governments will run deficits totaling some $15 billion. Public debt—Federal, state and local—will approach $350 billion. Private debt will total more than $400 billion. This means our economy will be burdened with indebtedness amounting to between $700 billion and $800 billion. This is close to a trillion dollars—a figure beyond ordinary comprehension.

FOR 25 YEARS, through 1955, we were on a deficit basis without real exception. In that period the Federal debt rose from about $16 billion to $274 billion, and from 1939 the value of the dollar dropped at an average of more than 3 cents a year.

Finally, in two consecutive fiscal years, 1956 and 1957, we brought the Federal Budget back into real balance. At the same time we financed substantial tax reduction, reduced the debt and slowed inflation down to a virtual stop. After a quarter-century of deficit financing, rising debt and spiraling inflation, these balanced Budgets gave us reason to hope we were back on an even peacetime keel.

But for reasons I shall never understand, the President in January 1957 brought in his Budget for fiscal year 1958, proposing a $8 billion increase in expenditures. It was the biggest peacetime Budget to that date. The country was shocked. There has never been anything like the opposition which developed spontaneously from the grass roots of this Nation.

Congress responded, and reduced appropriations by billions. But in the complexities of Big Government, with tremendous balances remaining in prior appropriations, expenditures rose notwithstanding. They were rising before sputnik and recession appeared on the scene. Then, seizing upon these issues as justification, Congress in the past session insisted upon enactment of legislation which could require Federal expenditures at an annual rate of $80 billion for years to come.

When the present Administration came into office

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it established a commendable record. It reduced expenditures in two consecutive fiscal years—1954 and 1955. But from a low point of $64.5 billion in that period, expenditures were increased to the estimate, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, of $80.7 billion. (For accurate comparison, this figure includes expenditures for highways and Federal National Mortgage Association, which are now financed through so-called trust funds.)

Federal expenditures in categories other than domestic-civilian have been decreased $700 million since 1954, from $48.6 billion to $47.9 billion. But in the same period since 1954—as noted previously—domestic-civilian expenditures have been increased $13.6 billion, from $19.1 billion to $32.7 billion.

Nearly 40 million people will receive direct payments from the Federal Treasury this year. This includes nearly 200,000 Federal employees working overseas. Generally speaking, these 40 million people with their families could reach a number equivalent to half of the population of the United States.

Nearly $87 billion is outstanding at this moment under so-called Federal credit programs for housing, veterans, agriculture, commerce, defense production, small business. This has increased nearly $24 billion in the last three years. Grants to state and local governments now total $4.9 billion. There are now 62 programs for state and local subsidy. By way of contrast, when I came to the Senate 25 years ago, there was only one state aid program of any consequence. That was the highway program, which then cost $250 million.

When we are on a sound basis we pay these costs directly from taxes. If we are on a deficit basis we charge them into the debt, pay interest on the loan until we pay off the obligation, and stimulate inflated prices in the process. In either event, about 15 per cent goes into overhead for Federal administration. Since I have been in the Senate, interest on the Federal debt has cost the taxpayers of this country more than $100 billion.

UNTIL WE GET Federal expenditures down, balance the Budget, and stop inflation, there is no hope for sound tax reduction. To reduce taxes when we are on a deficit basis simply charges the tax cut into the Federal debt. This aggravates the whole deficit-debt-inflation cycle.

Year after year, I have gone over every expenditure and appropriation item. I know the problems involved in our outmoded appropriation procedures. I know the devices which have been developed to bypass appropriation control, such as authority to spend directly from the public debt.

I know how difficult it is to reduce expenditures when unexpended balances in prior appropriations approach or exceed the new requests to which annual congressional action ordinarily is limited. In the current year approximately $155 billion will be available to Federal spending agencies—$83 billion or more in new spending authorizations for this year, and approximately $72 billion in unexpended balances carried over from prior years.

On my own experience I submit that expenditure reductions of the necessary magnitude, if applied with care and wisdom, would strengthen our economy, strengthen our Government, strengthen our national defense and strengthen our international position:

● With respect to defense expenditures, we should rechart the whole military program and reevaluate the objectives of our spending in view of changing methods of warfare.

● *The waste in foreign aid, especially economic aid, has been obvious from its inception. We enacted the Marshall Plan in 1948 for four years. Post-war foreign aid expenditures have now run more than a decade. To date our gross authorizations for foreign aid expenditures have totaled more than $80 billion.*

● Expenditures for economic aid should be sharply curtailed. Our best interests and those of our allies would be better served by preserving the integrity of the American dollar to stimulate international trade.

● *I know basic legislation will be required for substantial reduction in domestic-civilian expenditures. This will require the exercise of statesmanlike leadership by the President and the unwavering support of Congress and the public.*

I feel certain that the great majority of the people of this Nation want the integrity of our money protected, want their form of government preserved, and want their free enterprise system to survive, in order that we may pursue this Nation's great mission to the world. If this is what we want, we must have a national crusade from the grass roots to save our representative democracy, founded upon the free enterprise system.

Such a crusade must be inspired and led by the President. It must be supported by the Congress. Most important of all, it must be fired by the people themselves.

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Article Section II

Searching for Truth in Red Russia

By WILLIAM H. PETERSON

FROM THE MOMENT you enter the silvery Soviet jet, a twin-engined TU-104, at the Brussels Airport, you are transported, literally and figuratively, to another world.

In a way, you are prepared for what is about to envelop you. You have been to Cosmos, the unique New York (45 West 45th Street) travel agency for "Intourist," the Soviet ministry charged with providing all facilities for "guests" of Red Russia. You have done your homework for the trip—reread the *Communist Manifesto,* thumbed through marked-up copies of Marx's *Das Kapital,* Lenin's *State and Revolution* and other works on communism.

And you have kept track of recent developments in the Communist world. Two pronouncements from the ever-voluble Nikita S. Khrushchev, "First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party," especially cling to the visitor's mind: "Those who expect us to abandon communism will have to wait until a shrimp learns to whistle"; and, "whether you Western diplomats like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

Your homework perhaps convinces you that life must be a bit tarnished in "the Worker's Paradise"; still, you remind yourself, this is an age of experts, of eye-witness reports. So, why not track the truth in Red Russia itself?

During the three-hour flight to Moscow (over Denmark—West Germany refuses air space transit for Communist aircraft) you can marvel at the Soviet technological achievement embodied in the TU-104. It is 121 feet long, stands almost 40 feet high, and has a wingspread of 114 feet. Its top speed is just under 600 miles per hour. It is the passenger-carrying version of the TU-16 (Badger) medium bomber. Its appointments are good, but beneath American standards.

You browse through the two magazine racks aboard the plane. The Soviets offer only their own state fare—*Pravda, Trud, Izvestia,* and, in English, the magazines, *Soviet Union, USSR, New Times,* and the newspaper, *Moscow News.* In *New Times,* you come across an interview with Cyrus S. Eaton, American industrialist and a recent visitor to Red Russia. Mr. Eaton is quoted as having said: "A nation that can build a Sputnik and the TU-104 jet can do anything." Again: "The Soviet Union sincerely desires to improve relations with the United States. In our country, too, there is an influential group that feels the same way."

You touch down at the Moscow Airport in the late afternoon. On board the plane come two armed uniformed men who demand to see your passport. They look you over, and, satisfied with the visa, they allow you to disembark. After an exploration of the huge airport building, you find a small office marked "Intourist." Inside, a youthful man with his feet upon his desk is reading a newspaper. "I'm an American," you announce; "an Intourist tourist." The man is anything but interested. He asks for your papers. On examination, he nods his head affirmatively. Your way through the formidable red tape is clear.

The trip from the airport into Moscow is a 20-mile drive by Intourist car. It is dusk as you pass by collective farms and Potemkin villages and, here and there, giant radio transmitting—and jamming—stations. There are no suburbs to Moscow. The city looms up out of nowhere. Its outskirts are marked by apartment house shells under construction by floodlight. Up on the high scaffolding you can see bricklayers, and you look again—quite a number of the bricklayers are women!

You arrive at your hotel, the Hotel National on Gorky Street, just off Red Square. It is a pre-Revolution hotel built in 1907, drab and grimy but still retaining the touches of luxury hotels of bygone days: iron grillwork, white statuary of Greek gods, marble staircases. You register. A man appears, saying he is an official of Intourist, and asks for your passport. "It will be returned to you when you leave," he says. You learn the passport is being held by the police.

DINNER AT THE Hotel National's restaurant is lackluster. The dining room has an old-fashioned elegance: crystal chandeliers, mirrored walls, potted ferns. But the tablecloth is soiled, as are the uniforms of the waitresses. Service is dilatory. The vegetables are overcooked and tasteless. You don't touch the salad. Thinking back—the treatment at the airport, the hotel desk, and now the hotel restaurant—you reflect that, in the service industries at least, where incentive wages are missing (tipping is taboo in the Soviet Union), service must have gone out with the October Revolution. You conclude that perhaps the much-heralded "dedicated" Soviet worker, then, isn't.

The multiplicity of portraits of Lenin and Stalin takes on a new dimension when you visit the red-marbled tomb of Lenin and Stalin, occupying the central position in Red Square; and the deification of Lenin is seen again in the Lenin Museum, one of many. Lenin's pictures and busts of course are everywhere, as are his pronunciamentos. Your interpreter translates one dated 1923:

"First we [the Communists] will take eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

The Leninist "religion" does not seem to lend much feeling for human sensitivity. You meet a fellow American tourist, a doctor from Fort Wayne, Indiana, who is anxious to check on vaunted Soviet

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medicine. After persistent tries he finally gets to see the inside of a Moscow hospital. On the hospital agenda that day: tonsillectomies, on an assembly-line basis. The children line up, get a local anaesthetic (a dab of cocaine) and then, fully conscious, undergo surgery. The children are terror-stricken. They scream. The woman surgeon explains: "The operation only takes a couple of minutes." Says the Indiana doctor, now home: "They're butchers."

You ask to see a Soviet court in action. The mechanics are not essentially different from those in an American court. There is the accused, a prosecuting attorney, a defense lawyer. Evidence is presented and challenged. Testimony is given. All this, you learn, is provided for by the Soviet Constitution. Cases must be heard in public ("unless otherwise provided by law"). The accused is "guaranteed the right to be defended by counsel" (a right which was somehow suspended in the Purge of the 1930's). "Judges are independent and subject only to the law," states Article 112 of the Soviet Constitution.

Comments the Soviet jurist, N. N. Polyansky: "The independence of the judges referred to in Article 112 of the Stalin Constitution does not and cannot signify their independence of politics. The judges are subject only to the law—this provision expresses the subordination of the judges to the policy of the Soviet regime, which finds its expression in the law."

The Communist party, you discover, covers every sensitive position in society. The party is the only thought "transmission belt" to the people. Public opinion is orchestrated to the party's will. Voicing a thought contrary to the line is the treasonable crime of "deviationism." You come across the following in *Pravda*: "As for our country, the Communist party has been and will be the only master of the minds and thoughts, the spokesman, leader, and organizer of the people in their entire struggle for communism."

You find no evidence of the "withering away of the state"—an important part of Communist dogma—in Red Russia. You check with a Moscow editor as to how the Communists square such a contradiction between theory and practice. He refers you to the classic formula which Stalin gave the Sixteenth Party Congress:

"We are for the withering away of the state, while at the same time we stand for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat which represents the most potent and mighty of all the state authorities that have existed down to this time. The highest development of state authority to the end of making ready the conditions for the withering away of state authority: there you have the Marxist formula!"

You search for the achievement of the Communists' professed prime goal—the banishment of human exploitation. No such banishment at all. Quite the contrary. You find Red Russia lives, and must live, on human exploitation. Exploitation is written in the unhappy faces of the peasants on the collective farms. It is written in the pathetic rabble that forever surges along Moscow's Gorky Street (one explanation for the around-the-clock foot traffic: while one family uses an apartment the other assigned family—or families—takes to the streets). It is written in the drabness of the streets, and the women street-cleaners sweeping them. It is written in the miserable wages of the Soviet worker, a rough average take home of around 700 rubles a month. It is written in the exploitative prices charged in the state shops: men's suits, 1000 to 2000 rubles; men's shoes, 250 to 700 rubles; women's slips, 150 to 225 rubles; an automobile (roughly equivalent to a 1947 Ford) 40,000 rubles. It is written in the savings of the people confiscated by inflation and official decree.

While the Communist fallen must grovel in "self-criticism," you find no self-criticism of the grossest crimes by the state itself. Anti-Stalinism and Mao's "hundred flowers" have gone quickly to pot. The state can do no wrong. It is above reproach.

TRUTH IS CRUSHED under Moscow's end-justifies-the-means philosophy. For example, you ask the distinguished Soviet economist, Professor U. Kapelinsky, how it was that "Secretary" Khrushchev was so blithely able to "postpone," for 20 to 25 years, payment on Soviet bonds held by Soviet citizens—a debt amounting to 260 billion rubles. His reply: "Why, as Comrade Khrushchev explained, the postponement started as a spontaneous movement among the Soviet people."

You are in Moscow when the news breaks that the Soviet writer, Boris Pasternak, has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, for his novel, *Doctor Zhivago*. Pasternak is initially delighted. Then the wrath of communism: the Moscow newspaper, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, for example, denounces the award as "a hostile political act . . . against the Soviet Union" and the novel as "an artistically squalid, malicious work replete with hatred of socialism."

So it goes. Truth when it does rise in Red Russia is apprehended for what it is: "a hostile political act against the Soviet Union." And so it, like the Hungarian Freedom Fighter, is crushed to earth. Communist avoidance of truth has been abundantly spelled out. Lenin: "Promises are like pie crusts, made to be broken." Stalin: "Good words are a mask for bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron." Recently, Bulganin: "The Communist party never makes a compromise unless it is in its ultimate favor."

Yes, you have searched Red Russia for the truth. There is none to find.

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